A verisimilitude of pessimism

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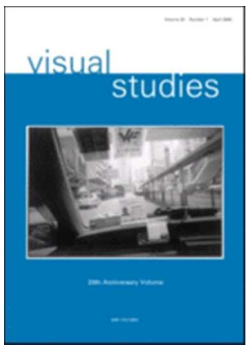

A Verisimilitude of Pessimism
Scottish Prisoner Mug-Shots, 1883-1927

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Abstract

This paper examines the stigmatisation of identity. Historic prisoner mug shots taken in two Scottish prisons during the late Victorian period constitute a part of archival base of this study from which generalisations to the contemporary world are conjectured. Cultural criminologists propose crime is normatively framed (Hayward and Presdee 2010). Arntfield (2016) ventures the claim that mug shots belong with a larger symbolism within a discourse of crime and culture. This article examines the scientific and cultural environs within which a dangerous semiotic of the mug shot image originated. The 'gaze' of the mug shot, it is argued, suffers from class stigmata circulating elite Victorian scientific laboratories and drawing-rooms. Criminal anthropology, it is argued, constructed visual sources as tools for reaching certainty, but in this project generated processes of social closure (Brubaker, 2004). Morphological deviations from the norm defined the 'criminal body'.

Key words: mug shot, prison, identity, stigma, Goffman

Burke (2001) proposes visual sources allow us to connect with past cultures in a way that textual sources inhibit. Tinker (2013: 27) advises,

"…when working with old photos you need to ensure your interpretive work is attuned to the historical period you are researching with a photo".

In eighteenth century London, which had become a 'faceless' society, the physiognomy of facial appearance, character and identity confronted men and women with challenges (Woods, 2017). Woods (2017) described how Joseph Addison in *The Spectator* in 1711 advised caution to those faced with difficulty of reaching identity judgements from facial appearance about social group membership. Addison's circumspection is not reflected in gloomy cultural developments in the next century where risk assessment became anchored in biology. The paper explores the factors that prompted the mentality that the visual mapping of the human face revealed the criminal within. In spite of the attempt to focus this criminogenic enterprise upon the notion of a "criminal type" it spilled over into the stigmatization of a wider impoverished demography, gaining its appeal through an illusion of certainty. The mug shot was a proxy symbolic language and established dominant perceptions of reality and constructed identities (Townson, 1992).

The verisimilitude of pessimism in the paper's title refers to stigma as theorised in the by Goffman in *Stigma: Notes on the Management of a Spoiled Identity* (1968). Stigma is the possession of some attribute that causes a person to suffer allocations to "discredited" categories and effectively othered. For Goffman stigma can be physical, moral or tribal. Vassenden and Lie (2013) found stigma can embrace looks, ethnicity and class. Stigma as othering haunts scientific-governmental and literary imaginings. It shone a 'light' upon lives that were not included in this period's triumphalism. Stigma is especially entrenched and

deterministic when its provocations are supposedly reflecting truths about the natural order. Goffman foregrounded self-presentation within the "interactional order"; the intricacies of social life, he argued, mirrored the theatre where persons are actors struggling to be heard (Smith, 2002; Goffman, 1961, 1963,). His sociological order recognises the illusion of a natural order. Goffman (1961: 12) argues total institutions have formal roles geared to transform inmates controlled; institutional norms limit the selves that can be constructed. He describes total institutions as being forcing houses for changing persons. The routines of these institutions deliver a 'mortification of the inmate self' (Goffman, 1961). The inmate on admission to the prison is subjected to a 'role dispossession'; from the mug shot new identities are born. To fill the resulting lacunae the incarcerated inmate begins to redefine themselves as the institution demanded. To understand why the mug shot is a verisimilitude of pessimism an understanding of the historical context is necessary.

Burke (2011: 125) emphases the concept of 'gaze'. A 'gaze' expresses attitudes, hate, fear or desires projected onto the other. 'Gaze' develops in a cultural context whose values inform conventions of representation and reception. In Britain The *Prevention of Crime Act* (1871) introduced the mug shot. The criminal mug shot belongs with a "scoptic regime" Rose's term for the ways in which what is seen and how it is are culturally constructed (Rose, 2001: 6). It is within a culture of pessimism about classes of society that the development of a positivist social science provided a discourse of derision and prejudice. Negative human traits and threatening appearances merged in the mug shot. The growth of a passionate science dedicated to theorising 'look' created a mood of cautious optimism within an earnest Victorian establishment. Science was securing its authority by contributing a panacea to manage, if not eradicate, anxieties connected with a national festering moral and biological contagion (Pick, 1996). Arntfield (2016: 8) describes how the existential angst of the Victorians found a "release valve" in the quest for scientific truth.

Davie (2003) observed the legacy of Lombroso's *Criminal Man* when during 1865-1918 criminality was judged observable through facial and bodily features, an analysis coalescing in prison medical-psychiatric doctrine that the 'habitual criminal' suffered from evolutionary degeneracy. Lombroso suggested in his 219 portraits of 'criminal elements' that bodily marks of criminality were restricted to a sub-population including a 'prominent jaw', 'sinister and shifty look' and 'thick hair'. Post-mortem examinations of inmates conducted in Perth General Prison detected physical degeneration of their organs. It was concluded this malady indexed their 'moral insanity'. Sir Edward Du Cane (1830-1903), Chairman of the Directors of Convict Prisons, categorised prisoners as a 'type' beyond rehabilitation and inspired Galton's typologies criminal marks and finger-prints. The 'habitual criminal' belonged to the "inferior races of mankind" (Davie, 2003:15). Biology and evolutionary theory coalesced. Criminal statistics were judged as confirming the biological theory of criminality: in 1893-94 re-committals to prison in Scotland totalled 16,532, and numbered 2,816 who were re-committed ten times or more. Government called the latter "the most incorrigible class of offenders" (Departmental Committee on Habitual Offenders, Inebriates, 1895).

Once subjected to the mug shot and "branding" by taking prisoner's "marks" (see below) the interpretative frames used by offenders may contributed to patterns of re-offending/re-committals (Goffman, 1974; McLaughlin and Newburn, 2010). Labelling theory proposes criminological analysis must begin from how people come to be defined as deviant. Becker (1963) argues labelling creates and perpetuates 'deviant careers'. Labelling and stigma would flourish in and beyond criminal justice: theorisations of the Victorian urban and the mores of Victorian criminal science set fertile soil for recidivism. Curiosity in difference spilled out onto the streets, pursued in literature and reinforced by urban sociology.

Charles Dickens in 1853 in *Bleak House* experimented with physio-gnomically significant clothing; a female aristocrat became anonymous among the city masses having switched to common clothing. The de-encryption of these codes may not be immediate, yet in a world perceived as increasingly dangerous and camouflaged simpler solutions were needed to detect the disreputable. Chesney's (1991) *The Victorian Underworld* paints insecurity, "street prowlers", narrow streets are "oriental bazaars"; "gangs of youth" plunder shopping districts. In 1894 the British Secretary of State commissioned a report entitled "Identification of Habitual Criminals" tasked with finding "Best Means Available for Identifying Habitual Criminals". [1] The Ratcliffe High Murders in 1811 and Jack the Ripper murders in 1888 raised public concern (Kilday, 2013). Jack London's 1903 *The People of the Abyss* describes this urban 'underclass' as animalistic and living in squalor.

Charles Booth's maps of nineteenth century London areas marked as black the streets where a vicious and "semi-criminal class" lived. Booth's stereotyping of residential areas paralleled the visual construction of the criminal. Cartographical visual images would guide the peregrinations of London's middle-classes about where not to go. Charles Booth's urban street map marks as black the domiciles of criminals. Maps can be constitutive of constructing stigma through 'placing' residents into categories. Booth's map of London poverty and criminogenic areas, 1889 is presented in Figure 1:

FIGURE 1 HERE

Charles Booth likened the darker places on his map to threatening areas in darkest Africa. Maps conjure visual arguments, prejudice and values belong with their deep mapping (Presner, 2009). Jackson (2000: 107) describes Justice Darling, the Old Bailey judge, who in 1907 identified abusive behaviour by men as typical of the underclass whose debased manliness reflected in limited industry of the moral degenerate, a figure peregrinating Booth's darker street. Pessimistic rendering of the unemployed makes sense in terms of the Darwinian spirit of meritocracy and evolution of human hierarchies. The poet Tennyson called nature 'red in tooth and claw'. Competition and the absence of a benign god feature Thomas Hardy's 1886 novel *The Major of Casterbridge* characters had to adapt or perish. In other novels of the period, for example, George Gissing's *New Grab Street*, 1891, and H.G.

[1] Identification of Habitual Criminals, Report of a Committee Appointed by the Secretary of State- Best Means Available for Identifying Habitual Criminals. London: HMSO. 1894.

Wells in *The Time Machine* a pessimistic vision of a degenerate, disharmonious future is portrayed.

Henry Mayhew's (1812-1887) sociology of the London Labour and the London Poor c. 1856, described London's streets, occupations and crime practices revealing the 'two nations' present in Charles Dickens. The 'gaze' described by Burke (2011) was, by this time, advanced in its pessimistic construction of a seeming verisimilitude of the other. V.A.C. Gatrell (1994) argued that in 1900 crime was defined as inseparable from the working-classes. Public safety in the late Victorian period and into the Edwardian period was thought to be threatened by greater population mixing, movement and the presence of strangers. In a Scottish prison commission 1900 report it is stated "many serious crimes in Scotland are committed by travelling thieves from England" (p. 7). [2] Pooley (1994) observed a high mobility among obtaining goods and money false pretence criminal in the north of England during 1880-1910. Emsley (1996) explains that two major phenomena caused members of the public to perceive a rise in violent crime. Firstly, the ticket-of-leave was introduced by the penal Servitude Act 1853 where following good behaviour large numbers of convicts in Britain and overseas were released under licence back into the community. Two years after the Act the press and members of parliament linked this crime rise to these men "now prowling" British streets. Secondly, the garrotting panic of 1856 and 1862 was attributed to these convicts. Beier (2002) reminds us that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Britain and France, the articulation of the concept of a "criminal class" occurred. Criminality was conflated with working-class (Beier, 2002). Stonely (2014) discovered criminals were not a class apart. Instead they shared their social origins and residency with a mobile working-class demography inhabiting precarious conditions. Scientific investigations bolstered suspect status and risk assessment.

Science of othering

Pearl (2010) notes Victorians became physio-gnomically literate easing their street navigation. Whilst perambulating this literacy eased passing facial judgements about moral character. Clothing and self-presentation made for a self-consciousness about individual appearance. Seemingly neutral cogitation about the social took a judgemental and criminological turn. Stigmatised populations entered to an increasingly greater extent into the embryonic dark grip twentieth century fascist eugenics and colonial discrimination (Ardizzone,2006). Back to the Victorian period when faced with a national panic about dangerous and mobile criminal Prime Minister H.H. Asquith (1852-1928) supported an inquiry into Habitual Criminals. British government officials conversed with experts running the Alphonse Bertillon's (1853-1914) forensic science laboratory in Paris dedicated to criminal physiognomy and anthropometry.

British civil servants invited vice-presidents of the British Anthropological Institute to advise them on criminal detection. Positive impressions were formed following visits to Francis

[2] [2] Annual Report: The Prison Commission for Scotland, 1900. Glasgow: HMSO.

Galton's laboratory where finger-print science was under development.[3] Branding by mug shot was part of a general trend of quantifying individual's distinctiveness: the periodical American Lawyer in 1905 celebrated the advantages associated with the Bertillon System of facial measurement and suggested public safety would benefit if extended to all citizens. [4] In France Broca in 1859 developed scientific metrics to rank human groups within an evolutionary paradigm later used during the Nazi occupation to identify Jews (Conklin, 2013). Finger-prints were tips of a larger, in hindsight, intellectual fabrication of criminality's roots. Maudsley's (1867-1874) studies of degeneracy concluded with a hereditarian view of criminality. In fact, "Petty crime was used by many as another means of survival, a way in which to supplement meagre incomes and to cope with periods of unemployment..." (Crone, 2010: 9). In an article entitled "Penal Servitude" in *The Scotsman* newspaper, August 29th, 1891 reference is made to new police powers who will,

> "be able to have the photograph of anyone committed to prison, whether tried or untried, to assist them in identifying those charged with crime; and for the same purpose power is taken to adopt the system of recording the measurements of certain parts of the head and limbs of prisoners, as is now done in France with very satisfactory results". [5]

Sir Francis Galton advised the British police on finger printing based on his scientific work on 'racial types' issues of heredity. Types of finger print are recorded in this House of Commons inquiry. [6] These innovations evidenced the hope they would make a life of crime in Scotland more difficult. Finn (2009), argued the mug shot became a synecdoche, a visual substitute for the criminal, it consecrated criminal identities. The biological notion of the criminal body enveloped in gloom an already disenfranchised class where criminality was thought to ferment. The mug shot's dubious verisimilitude transcended the claustrophobic prison studio. This shaming and stigmatizing carceral regime stretches into the contemporary period (Codd, 2008; Condrey, 2007).

Tagg's (1988) argues mug shot photos do not themselves construct their content's meaning. Instead it is the discourses that are enmeshed within them that project a reality. This reality is misrepresented by a naïve realist thesis that the image simply reproduces what is depicted. The mug shot is not merely a transcription of the world. Brown (2007) proposes visual records have a cultural life mediating the population's relationship with punishment and the construct of criminality. Dominant discourses construct stories of the past whose nourishment lies in wider trends (Rose, 2001). Gaze control is imposed through a discursive context of scientific specimen-type. In the case of criminal mug shot the sitter is objectified, made to seem docile whose compliance may suggest guilt (Tagg, 1988; Rawling, 2017).

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[3] [3] Identification of Habitual Criminals, Report of a Committee Appointed by the Secretary of State- Best Means Available for Identifying Habitual Criminals. London: HMSO. 1894.
[4] For Purposes of Identification, The American Lawyer, October 1905, 13, 10. P. 449.
[5] The Scotsman 1860-1920. Pro-quest Historical Newspapers, August 29th, 1891, p. 8.
[6]

Portrait photography outside the prison was a short cut for detecting outwardly physical stigmata whose diagnosis asylum doctors adopted to classify organic 'conditions' (Davie, 2003). The naming of 'lunatic' patients in medical photographs as mere category types encouraged a vision of the person as personifying a category of pathology. Dowdall and Golden (1989) through historic turn-of-the-century photographs examine everyday life in a US state mental hospital arguing "photographs provide a window into this world" (p. 185). The images expressed a world of idleness, punctuated by coerced activity, custody not treatment. Photographs, they argue, are similar to other data such as observational field notes. Photographs offer "an indispensable means of immersion in the realities of the past" (p. 207). Postcard images sent by patients to relatives contained gaps in the representations about the patients' existence. Weekly routines were shunned. In their place we see images of imposing asylum buildings and gorgeous landscapes. This selective use of images suggest propaganda designed to create favourable views of the asylum. Bogdan and Marshall (1997) in this vein propose,

> "the visual rhetoric of hegemony-they help manage the public's understanding of the testimony of professional control of deviance" (p.18).

A favourable view, they argue, of the mass institutional containment of the insane was projected through images of prestigious parkland. The actual situation was concealed from view. The asylum was legitimated through its ontological erasure (Foucault, 1977). Politicians manipulate out the stigmatized mug shot gaze by framing situations to their advantage.

Bock et al (2016) highlight the socially constructed valence of the mug shot in contemporary political contexts in the USA. A powerful local politician through deliberate interpersonal strategies circumvented his criminalisation through press photography. Bock et al coin the term "optical performance" to refer to how the camera, in conjunction with its object, construct a public identity. These scholars suggest photographic images "are powerful because even though they are known to be constructions, they "feel" very real and tend to trump words" (p. 1). They recommend we analyse the processes visual media harness to construct a disciplinary gaze whose rituals are degradation ceremonies where justice is enacted (Sekula, 1986). Rick Perry, the indicted American politician, subverted "scripts" of criminality by his "embodied gatekeeping". He controlled over timing, space and the place of his embodied performance. Unlike the mug shot frame expressed his power to evade penitent and docile image. British suffragettes and Irish Republican prisoners subverted the mug shot's criminogenic frame by changing their physiognomic appearance (MacSuibhne and Martin, 2005; Mulcahy,2015).

Sources and visual analysis

The *Barlinnie Prison Registers* 1882-1891 consist of a separate Photograph Album containing mug shots of inmates with name, and prisoner registration numbers (NRS: HH21/70). There are nine images to a page in the Album. This album does not contain photographs of all Barlinnie inmates. A total of 2,115 mug shots of male prisoners survive. The selection made are representative of the other images found in the Album. The prison opened on 15th

August 1882 for "all descriptions of Criminal Prisoners" – it held 200 prisoners. [7] By 1900, its population was 848.[8] Admission totalled 39,701 to Scottish prisons in 1900, 60,500 offences were for drunkenness and Breach of the Peace. [9] Other identifying details available in the NRS archive are utilised to contextualise the selected images. Descriptive facts as chosen by reception staff about the persons in the mug shots are contained in a very large ledger bound by a hard cover (NRS: HH21/70/97). The majority of the inmates in the Barlinnie prison register are petty criminals serving short sentences. The typical sentence was 60 days. They are largely illiterate and worked in humble, precarious occupations, facts recorded in the Register. Images of serious offenders from different social strata held in Scotland's convict prison Peterhead, are utilised for comparisons. Long sentence prisoners went to Peterhead, its 1900 Governor S.A. Dodd remarked "we get all the worst prisoners of the country here". Convicts were fired at if they attempted to escape (p. 36). [10]

Tinkler (2013) proposes that treating the photograph as a material object means we must considerer its mobility in social life. Mug shots were circulated to police authorities making them a mobile law detection currency. As material objects their small size and visual quality were important; if mounted or displayed and if evidence how they were used mattered (Tinkler, 2013). Schwartz (1989) reminds us to be critical viewers recognising the reality produced by the camera is mediated, by what Tagg describes as discourses. Schwartz argues visual images convey more about us, their viewers, than about the image itself. Rawling (2017) indicates that the analysis of visual images by the historian lacks an established methodology. One approach recommends treating the image as simply another 'text'. A content analysis of the subject and context of the photograph should acknowledge the wider context. Rose (2001) endorses the importance of context in the analysis of photographs. Content analysis is one of Rose's methodological means to render the symbolic qualities of text that represent a cultural setting that 'frames' what is seen in them.

In Victorian Dublin, the turnkeys painstakingly attended to observing and recording "marks on the person" (distinguishing marks) including missing teeth, scars, blotches, wounds, tattoos, and moles (MacSuibhne and Martin, 2005: 106). The outstretched hands in the mug shots over these years symbolise the beginnings of a greater use of exteriority of identity recording which was to progress to innovations in finger-printing. Stonely (2014) describes mug shots of prisoners convicted for repeated offences held in Reading prison, England 1868-1900: from 1887 these inmates were compelled not only to pose for their mug shot,

[7] Order by Secretary of State Prison at Barlinnie to be Legal Place of Detention for Criminal Prisoners, August 1882. **House of Commons Papers.**

[8] Prisons (Scotland) Committee. London: HMSO. 1900. House of Commons Parliamentary Papers.

[9] Annual Report: The Prison Commission for Scotland, 1900. Glasgow: HMSO.

[10] Annual Report: The Prison Commission for Scotland, 1900. Glasgow: HMSO.

but to display hands across chest. A knowledge of an individual's hands offered clues about occupation and class status. Clothing also signifies status: Richmond (2013) refers to a "sartorial underclass" populating urban milieu in the nineteenth century. The marks listed in Table 1 are indexically important, as illustrative of social status and a life style. Marks are listed about the prisoners in the Barlinnie Prison Register 1882-83. These "marks" are include recordings about prisoners' faces, heads and bodies. The warders who received the prisoners during reception made these observations which for Goffman indicate a mortification process.

Under the section 7 of the *Prevention of Crime Act 1871* it was recommended that convicted prisoners be photographed before release, full and side face, measurements in millimetres and feet and inches to be made of length and width of head, and lengths of arms, feet and left middle finger including the papillary ridges of the ten fingers as well as distinctive marks by position on body (p. 35). [11] Making a record of "marks" suggests more information was required than the facial appearance whose 'currency' as tool for chasing and identifying is time limited and could be undermined by change of appearance. Ageing of appearance is one issue for detection and explains why Oscar Slater had a 'before' and 'after' shot taken prior to his liberation (Image 1). Recent psychological demonstrates mug book size moderates the identification. This discovery is an endorsement of the use in the nineteenth century of an intuitive science of triangulation described here (Blunt and McAllister, 2009). These "marks" built a forensic biographical archive focussed upon morphological exteriority.

TABLE 1

Barlinnie Prisoner "marks"

Cut marks on brow and left cheek	Large scar across palm of the hand
Scar right brow	First joint second finger left hand stiff
Cut marks on left jaw	Cut marks on brow and left cheek
Mark of burn left arm	Left leg short
A little deaf	Blind left eye
Squint right eye	Burn marks on forehead
Blue marks tattooed left wrist	Slight scar left cheek
Bald on front of head	Knock kneed
Eye lost	Cut on nose
An eye disfigured	Wants first 3 fingers of right hand

Mapping the other: Body/facial analysis

[11] Identification of Habitual Criminals, Report of a Committee Appointed by the Secretary of State- Best Means Available for Identifying Habitual Criminals. London: HMSO. 1894.

The *Registry of Distinctive Marks* is a formal British system reported in a House of Commons inquiry in 1894 into methods of identifying Habitual Criminals.[12] The material in Table 1 is illustrative of this system. The marks based on this national system were classified into nine divisions, head and face, throat and neck, the chest, belly and groin, the back and loins, the arms, hands and fingers, thighs and legs and the feet and ankles. It is stated "The purpose of this register is to enable a criminal to be traced by means of his distinctive marks" (p. 4). Copies of the Register were published annually and distributed to all police forces. It was lamented the police use of it was limited. A limitation recorded was that many persons had no "distinctive" marks. Summing up: facial injuries, hair condition, hand integrity, sensory capacity, leg length and mobility are Barlinnie's "scoptic regime". The representations of the conditions of the working poor in the literature emerge in these visceral portraits. Crone's emphasis upon the Victorian prison demography, predominately the urban poor, clashes with Cesare Lombroso's biological criminal specimen whose universality is confined to sub-populations and organic. Brown (2007) talks about dehumanising conditions and the disciplinary side of modernity including prohibition on compassion.

Mug Shot analysis

The historical sociological framework developed by Dowdall and Golden (1989) informs our approach to the mug shots as text. They refer to "layered analysis" where images and interconnections are iteratively pursued to achieve depth (this includes noting written primary sources). After that process broad themes across the sample of images are identifies, and "thick descriptions" given of individual images. These scholars recognise interpretations of visual 'texts' are impacted by influenced by knowledge of a historical period.

We begin this section with images of two penal servitude prisoners taken in Peterhead Convict prison located in North-East Scotland. Peterhead was a Public Works prison. convicts built the Harbour of Breakwater, and a sea plane landing station. The breakwater barrier was composed of granite which convicts, under armed guard, broke with pick-axes and sledge hammers in the nearby quarries. There was no equivalent of these 'elite' images in the Barlinnie register. To render explicit the semiotics of the culture of punishment as the form of dark tourism proposed by Brown (2007), and reiterate Goffman's theory of stigma the mug shots are titled in this paper in terms of the criminal conviction. Oscar Slater has two images in his prison records. Figure 2 is unusual, most prisoners, including those in Barlinnie, have humble social origins. Historically hands were clinical significant: very short fingers, small thumbs and index fingers that were unusually long indicated the 'Mongolian Imbecile' personality groups and forms of insanity (Wolffe and Rollin, 1942).

FIGURE 2 HERE

Oscar Slater, a dentist of Jewish decent was born in Germany. In 1908 he was tried for murder in Glasgow, convicted and sentenced to execution by hanging, later commuted to

[12] Identification of Habitual Criminals, Report of a Committee Appointed by the Secretary of State- Best Means Available for Identifying Habitual Criminals. London: HMSO. 1894.

Penal Servitude for Life. It was his only criminal conviction. The national press reporting of his trial raised and changed his cultural profile and public reception. A Letter to the Editor citing the support of the crime fiction novelist Arthur Conan Doyle for Slater, published in *The Scotsman* newspaper entitled "The Slater Case" dated 11 October,1912 questioned the competency of the judges and evidence making his swift departure suspicious and the letter mentioned the "alleged peculiarity of his nose" was "noticeable at all in his photograph". The linking of identification and photography twice in the Letter suggests that, by this date, the photograph had entered the public imagination as a source for criminal tracking and popular interest in 'celebrity' appearance. [13] In a separate Scotsman newpaper report a local resident of Peterhead reported seeing Oscar Slater as he passed in a "saloon car" and subsequently he went to the shooting range at the fair with friends. He was visiting Peterhead after his liberation. The onlooker detected him in Peterhead precincts "from photographs he had seen in a newspaper". [14] His name, prison and number are at the foot of the mug shot images, not hanging from his neck on a cord. The side view of his upper body is available in the later image and the signage of the prison is upper-case, and larger, suggesting a progression in forensic photography. His clothing in each mug shot indicates comparatively high social status. His distinctive bodily marks are recorded in his prison files (NRS: HH15/20/1).

Before prison reception he experienced the trauma of the death sentence verdict, having returned, voluntarily, to protest his innocence, by liner, from New York where he went following the alleged crime. Recent memories of displacement and enforced travel from Glasgow to Peterhead under escort and, probably with other convicts, would not have allayed his dread of what might await him in the North-East. Front stage he submits to the camera and his image is framed as dead-pan. The prison's multiple files about him demonstrate that once into his sentence he resisted and was judged a "difficult" prisoner His extensive personal correspondence to family demonstrated his maintenance of an intimate "back stage" self. The Figure 1 Image was taken in 1909 on reception. His tailoring is retained possibly to capture more of his identity than had he been shot in prison uniform. His dress symbolises a gentleman. Each image of his face illustrates his distinctive nose and confident if impassive 'look'. The apparent cleanliness of his shirt and jacket with the lapels suggest an orderly and secure lifestyle. Clothing differentiated classes (Richmond, 2013). The clothing in the mug shots 'allocates' social place. Richmond (2013) points out how developments in the nineteenth century in the processing of glass that included mirrors and the camera lens introduced "new modes of visual awareness" and ideals of personal appearance from which the poor did not benefit.

FIGURE 3 HERE

Image 2 of Oscar Slater suggests prison photography progressed during his period of incarceration. The addition of a hat and new style of dress may attest to change in fashion, during the previous eighteen years, 1909-1927; his tie, jacket and shirt differ. Image 2 is

[13] The Slater Case, The Scotsman, 15 October 1912, p. 9.

[14] Oscar Slater: A Visit to Peterhead, The Scotsman, 15th July,1929, p. 7.

recognisably the same person, but has aged. The presence of panama style may indicate he was given scope to present himself as he planned to look in society outside. An identity was being re-claimed. The hat conceals a previously shown bald head, but other than that his facial profile is largely unchanged. His discharge on licence means he continues to be monitored closely after liberation. The [gloomy nature of the sober and clinical atmosphere connected with each mug shots besides reflecting the choice of lighting as suiting this portraiture, would perhaps also resonate the gloom of this prison. It was penal policy to maintain gloom to activate psychological punishment and encourage critical self-analysis.

FIGURE 4 HERE

John MacLean was a school teacher. His case file describes him as a "political activist". He was convicted at the High Court in Edinburgh on 12 April 1916 for contravention of the Defence of the Realm (Consolidation) Act 1914, articles 27 and 42 and sentenced to three years' penal servitude. After release, On Licence, 30 June 1917 he re-arrested and sentenced to five years' penal servitude on 9 May 1918 due to previous convictions and revocation of his licence. Lt Col H. Guest, General Staff Headquarters, Scottish Command conducted secret background checks on him and his associates, one of whom included a Russian subject, Louise Shammas. The War Office believed he was involved in "revolutionary activity in Glasgow and Clydeside" which during the First World War, undermined recruitment, training and discipline of His Majesty's forces including incitement to mutiny (NRS: JC26/1916/1918; NRS: HH16/132). He began hunger-striking and was subjected to painful forcible feeding in prison. It damaged his health permanently dying at the age of 44. His image suggests a strong personality. His dress code is middle-class. Both convicts seem to have had their hair cropped perhaps to highlight their features including head shape.

FIGURE 5 HERE

Turning to the Barlinnie inmates Alexander Leadburn was received from the Prison of Glasgow in 1883, aged 21.1, weight 160 pounds, height 5.6. He was born in Dundee and is single. His occupation is recorded as 'sailor'. Distinguishing Marks recorded: "leadburn in 1877 and a picture of a woman on right arm". His clothes differ from the Peterhead convict's dress. Instead of his prison number in front of him, and unattached it from his body, it is tied around his neck. His neck scarf was fashionable across Europe. His prison numbering is larger than Peterhead's. He appears to have retained his hair style suggesting Barlinnie authorities used a 'lighter touch' reception process. The mobility of his life is apparent from his occupation as a sailor. He was arrested in Glasgow indicating his mobility across Scottish cities. His leadburn mark at aged 15 years may symbolise adversity. The picture of a woman on his right arm is normative during this period and his social strata, the tattoo was popular.

FIGURE 6 HERE

William McQuarrie was received from Prison of Glasgow in 1883 aged 17.1, height 5.2, weight 124 pounds, religion Roman Catholic. His sentence was 60 days for theft. No occupation is recorded for him. His mug shot reveals his a kempt hair style and fashionable beard. His thick wool jacked is similar to Alexander Leadburn's excepting the round lapels, waistcoat and shirt. Rosalind Crone refers of an urban poor who steal to survive, these men may fit this group. His Irish name and religion suggest he may have emigrated from Ireland to Glasgow during the Great Famine, 1845-49. Each young man is now typecast as a 'criminal man' and can be monitored. The dark and gloomy backdrop to each mugshot seems to project a rootless identity. They have become property deposits in the criminal archive.

The social dislocation and displacement identity effect of the prison studio process continues in the collective image. Image 6, is taken from one page of the Album and contains these nine Barlinnie prisoners whose social identities outside the prison is erased. Destructive industrialisation, intense overcrowding and a climate of social Darwinism are obliviated from the viewer's understanding. The children at the base of this page were friends arrested for the same offences, fire raising and running away from a borstal. Biographical details are missing. Only the offence and their ages, 14-15 are stated in the Barlinnie Prison Register. The economical choice of facts in the Register helps sediment their framing and reception as mere captives. Although numbered round the neck, nineteenth century hand presents their names, dates of admission and residence projecting a clinical object 'gaze' lacking in empathy. The accumulation of a poor urban population into the state archive as mere technical images shorn of different markers of personhood would have reassured state authorities they had the visual means to pursue threats to public safety.

FIGURE 7 HERE

CONCLUSION

O'Neil (2002) remarked "trusting often seems hard and risky". A question of trust underlies the mug shot's mischievously manipulative fabrication of identity. It has been argued in this paper that cultural and scientific dynamics during the nineteenth century in Britain respite and justification in the mug shot. The state faced severe difficulties in the control of crime as intense growth of urban populations caused issues of social order. A deeper alternative mapping is to argue that the widespread anxieties affecting the period in Britain compelled the development and application of novel solutions which criminal anthropology promised. The grading by morphology of social groups meant that an apparently evolutionary justification for ingrained structural inequalities was possible. Although a national education system was underway that reflected class strata a deterministic paradigm gave sufficient strength to ensure a social balm would hold society in situ. State regulatory authorities by capturing 'looks' developed a collective taxonomy of putative degenerates.

Whilst unemployment and insecure cycles of job security explained the repetitious nature of crime and normativity amongst the urban poor this modern analysis may not have been available to a Victorian mentality. The poor lacked the resources to challenge conceptualisations made by ruling elites to which Galton and others affiliated. Pick (1996)

documents the European wide nature of this vision of fermenting disorder. Not only were the poor entrapped by poverty they also became the subjugated peoples of a harshly stigmatising application of a science of degeneration (Pick, 1996). Material circumstances trapped them and the gaze from above by the seemingly enlightenment inquiring minds of many eminent Victorians. Their career and societal advancement may have shaped their networking within government as their sought to secure the indubitable truth of the verisimilitude the mug shot's origin in heritability.

Goffman offers an alternative scoptic regime to the nineteenth century criminal biological anthropologist whose pessimistic treatment and notion of 'evolutionary regression' influenced eugenic sterilisation programmes against the disabled which Nazi policy ratified. Goffman's symbolic interactionalist perspective focusses attention instead upon the visual stigma of "marks" which lead to social categorisations and the disenfranchisement of groups. The biological rendering of hierarchies is for Goffman a convenient fiction whose social construction demonstrates the hegemony of one interactional model. In this vein Brown (2014) encourages us to conceptualise denigrated groups as a displaced population, whose suffering belongs with a contemporary visual iconography of mass incarceration in contemporary USA. From Brown's perspective the mug shots display a homogenisation of individuals in terms of social class origins and facial appearances framed as indicative of a lurking criminal self. The viewer is encouraged to seek a dark self within the mug shot. The contents of the Barlinnie prison Admission Register are a visual text of identity which is in the process of being extracted and re-formulated. The recording the "marks" rather than them illustrating morphological peculiarity could instead arise from the living conditions and adverse labour conditions. What we witness through the mug shot technology and undergirded science is the Victorian anthropologist's metric fascination turned inwards to classify an indigenous demography as an "exotic peoples". That this project of othering seemed plausible is the result of the ontologically plasticity of the human face and bodily features. Its moulding in the forge of a dubious science occurred in stages.

In Goffman's theorisation in *Asylum* (1961) the mug shot phase is a "pre-patient" process towards institutionalisation and "batch living". This process undermines a sense of personal identity and worth. As the state emerged over the nineteenth century social science legitimated a type of governance of an increasingly dispossessed urban working-class. Barlow (2016: 169) identified how even court drawings of the criminal accused perpetuated existing myths and prejudices of women co-defenders, who were constructed as "remorseless 'others'". Lashmar (2014) argues "the contemporary culture of the viewer" affects how, in the 21st century tabloid newspaper, we experience the signification of the image which is "deliberately decontextualized". Lighting is organised to highlight facial features – meaning directed exclusively towards the face of the arrested offender giving it a truth of "nature" appearance. Fenian political prisoners refused to sit for their photograph on the grounds that photography was an illegal intrusion on their liberty and selfhood. Mac Suibhne and Martin (2005) argue the prison images were taken for surveillance purposes. The mug shots of the prisoners do not depict the political prisoner or the others whose agency empowered their challenge to a scoptic regime. In this paper it is suggested that the Barlinnie prisoners are casualties or victims of a complex historical change that was not

designed to ameliorate their exclusion and expulsion (Brown, 2014). Arrest and imprisonment gave the state the opportunity to cause a secondary punishment and to begin the process of creating sub-populations. Galton and other Victorians perceived them as distinct biologically determined sub-species circulating furtively in the darkened areas of Booth's cultural derisory map of certain London neighbourhoods.

Burke (2006) suggests that historians will find the fine details of images valuable and should look for 'traces' that reveal 'aspects of social reality' which reveals mentalities, ideologies and identities. The Victorian upper-class scientist, as noted, was intensely interested in classifying and categorising nature and humanity. British social anthropology during the Victorian period typified this affinity to measure and compare through hierarchical grading of 'exotic peoples' (Stocking, 1987). Criminal offenders in Britain, as well as the insane and criminally insane, were rapidly to become an indigenous branded version of this vision of exotic subservience. During the late Victorian period a medico-psychiatric view of criminality held the belief about a 'criminal type' – the 'hardened criminal' or 'habitual criminal' deemed to be an 'instinctive criminal' described also by Havelock Ellis in *The Criminal Man* (1890). Official statistics seemed to confirm this pessimism: The *Habitual Criminal Act* of 1869 noted that 40% of the criminal population were beyond rehabilitation. Prison chaplains and medical directors during 1880-1914 associated physical degeneracy with moral arguing that there was a 'prison look' in facial appearance of the incarcerated (Davie, 2003). The processes of social closure that we witness over the period of the paper are in keeping with the theory they generate distinct communities, 'us' and 'them' (Brubaker, 2004). Alexander and Smith (1993) argue that in American society the in-group is attributed positive qualities and noncitizens or outsiders the contrary. The mug shot can be seen as a social mechanism for the formation of social boundaries and the suppression of those within this visual doctrine of a boundary (Tilly, 2004). We see these processes of closure and suppression in aspects of Victorian voyeurism.

In the history of the mugshot cultural shift around 1851 occurred that departed from the humanistic image and shifted to the impersonalised juridical image of the criminal record (Lashmar,2014). Although circulation of mug shots was restricted mages of criminalised populations circulated widely being popular as entertainment in Victorian society; the 'penny dread' mass circulation newspaper press catered for a new commercial popular culture. It is replete with colourful representations of criminals and pitfalls of drink. Its consumption was blamed for juvenile crime and unwholesome eating habits (Vaninskaya, (2011). Hard working families had an insatiable desire for sensationalist amusement (Springhall, 2009). A forensic zeitgeist reflected in the popularity of the Victorian gothic novel where urban dwellers could safely vent their fear and fascination of criminals (Arnfield, 2016). Also, the owners of debtor prisons and gaols opened them for popular entertainment. Income was generated from this appetite for dark tourism at weekends. [15] The meanings brought by these viewers of images and the incarcerated are likely to foreground factors in the viewer's own life and inform their desired cultural affiliation (Schwartz, 1989). Mug shots continue to play a role the media's representation of crime.

[15] Acknowledgement for this point to anonymous reviewer of the paper.

Mug shots humiliates and shame (Lashmar, 2014). This engine of influence inculcates a one-dimensional culturally constructed criminality. Legal conflict about the disclosure of mug shot records used by federal law enforcement agencies is indicative of how seriously this type of visual material is judged (Norris, 2013). The verisimilitude of scientific and emotional pessimism that accompanied the cultural resonance of mug shots has endured giving processes of social closure the look of certain authority.

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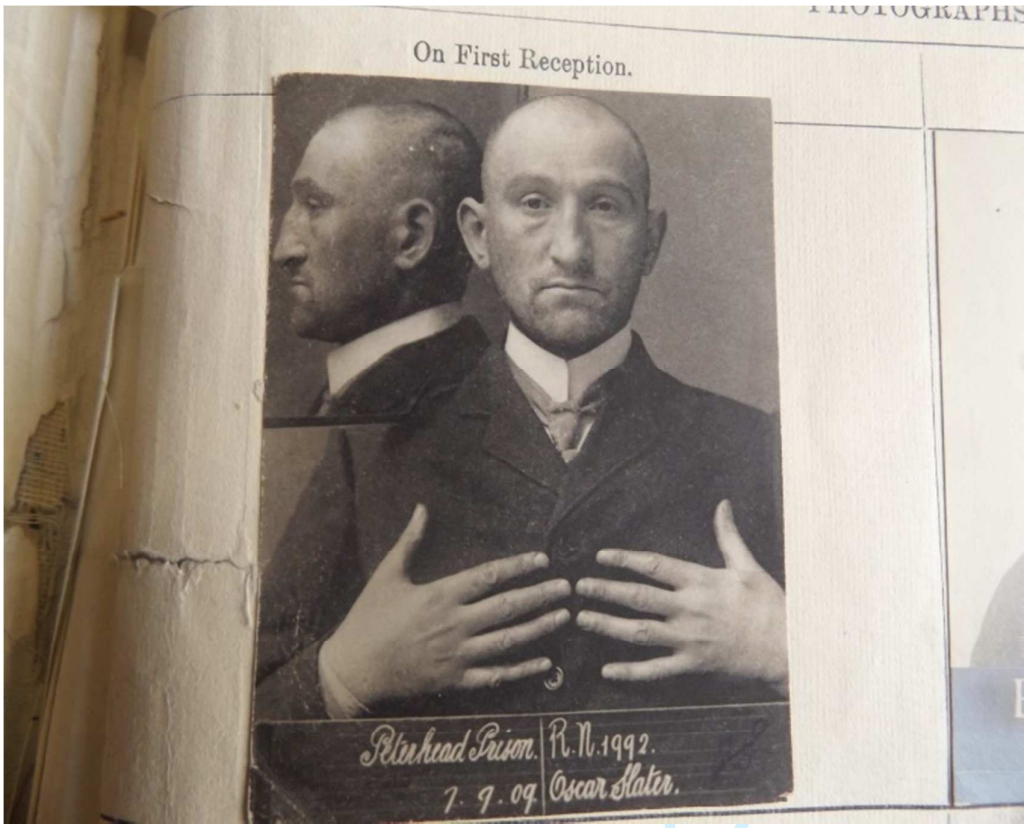
FIGURE 1

BOOTH'S MAP OF LONDON STREETS (East London sections)

FIGURE 2

Oscar Slater – On Reception (1909)

'The Murderer'



Crown copyright, National Records of Scotland, HH15/20/1, page 6

FIGURE 3

Oscar Slater- Final Discharge on Licence 1927

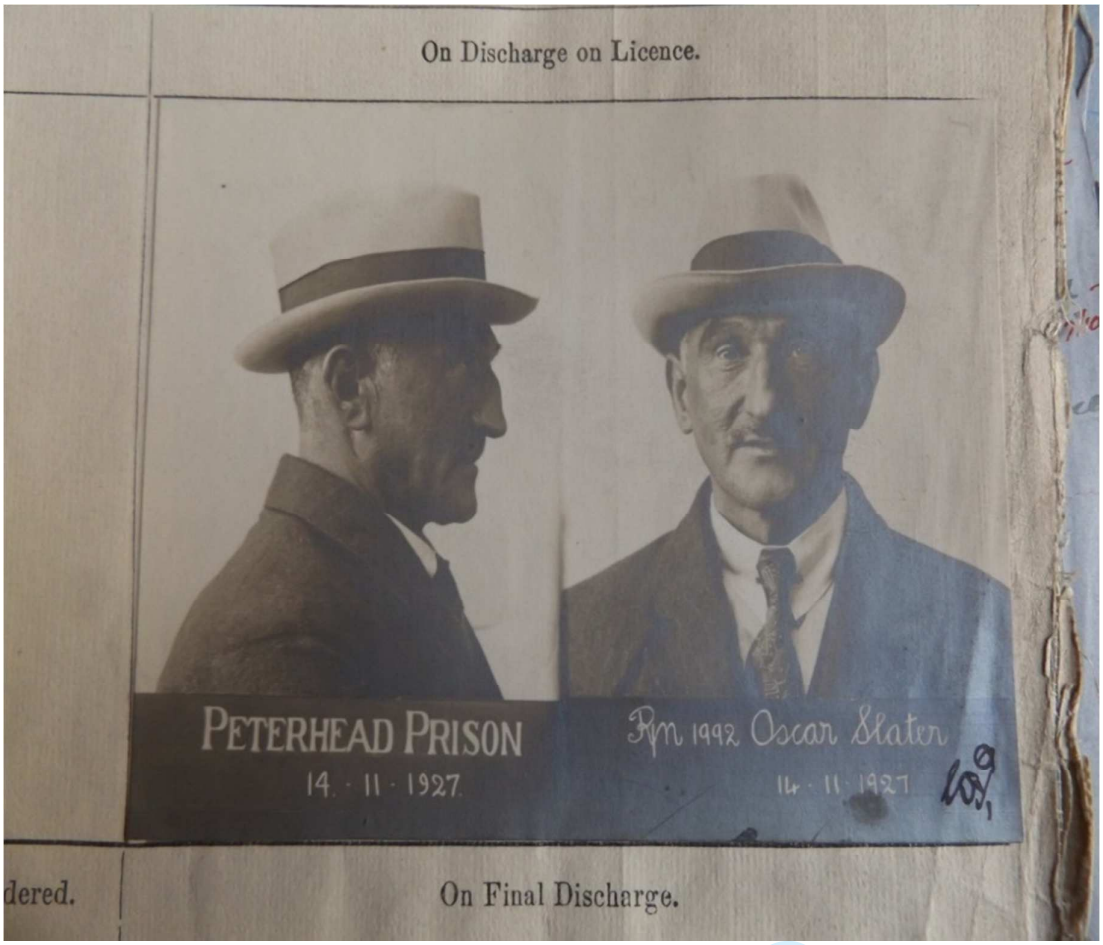


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FIGURE 4

John McLean – On Reception 1916

'The Traitor'

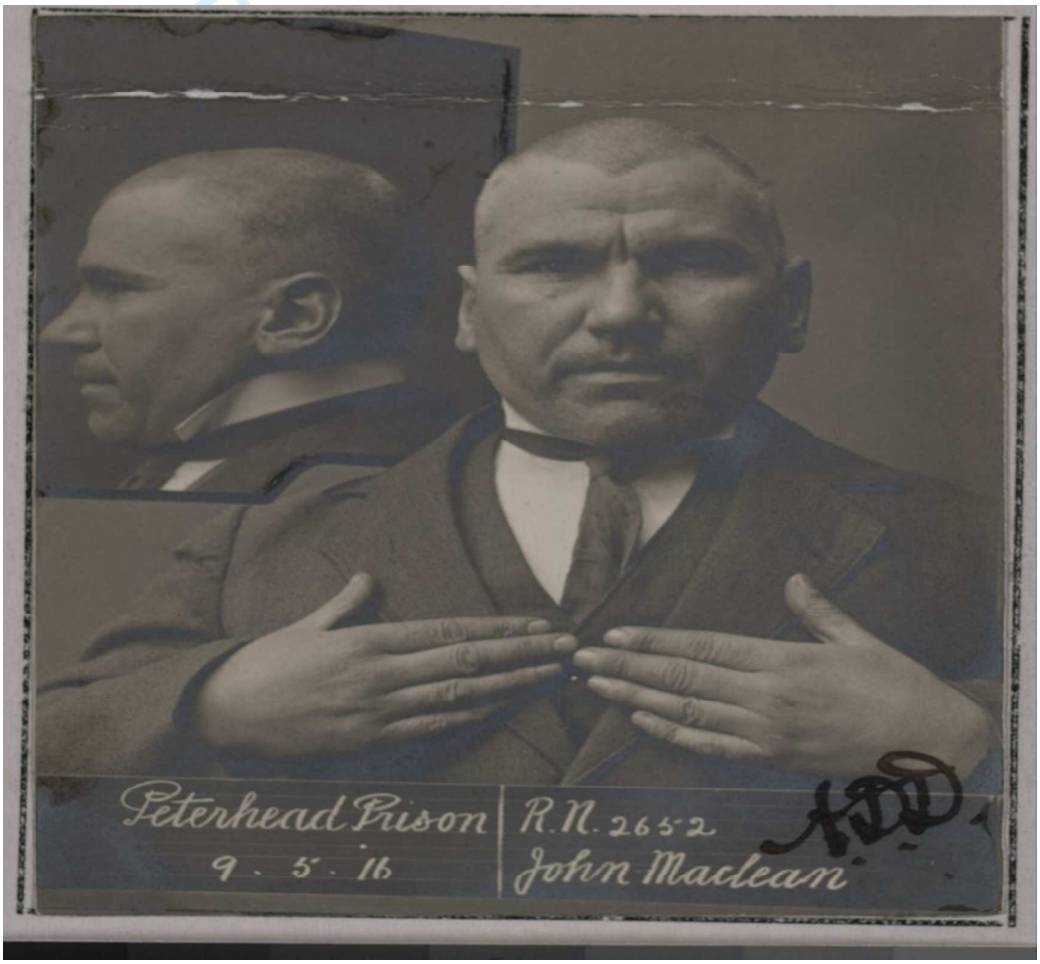

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FIGURE 5

Barlinnie Prisoner: Alexander Leadburn 1883

'The Habitual Criminal'

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FIGURE 6

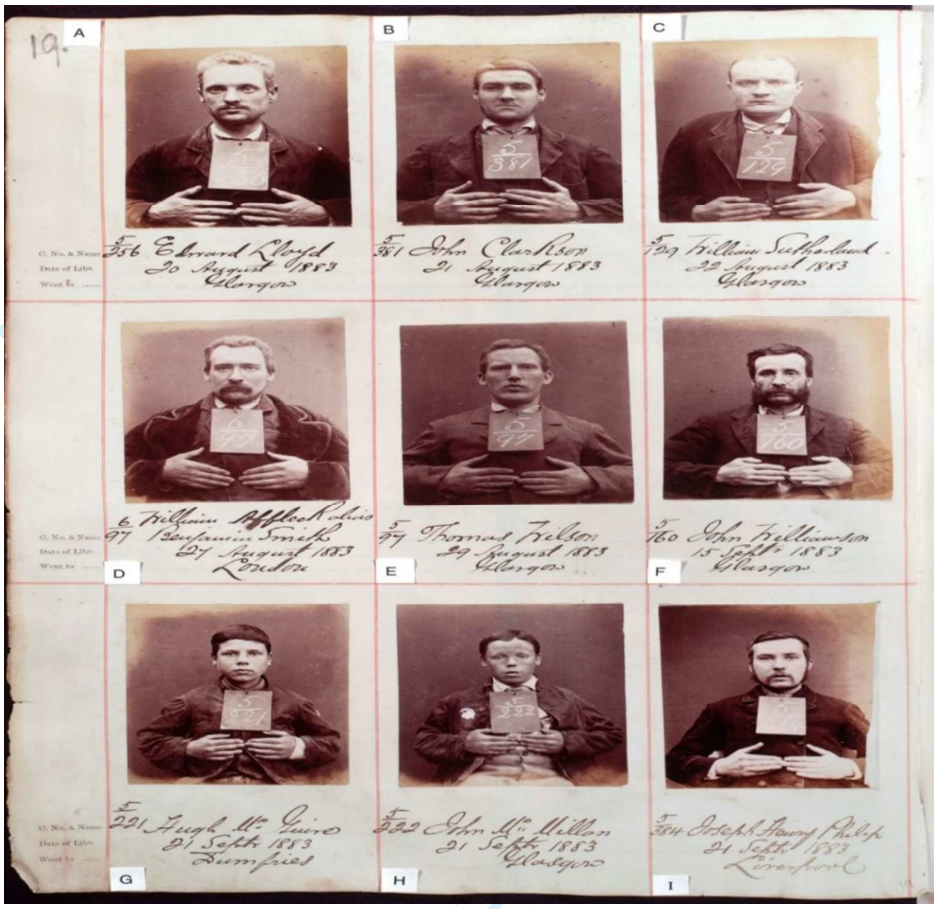
William McQuarrie 1883

'The Habitual Criminal'

Crown copyright, National Records of Scotland, HH21/70/97, p. 10C.

FIGURE 7

Adult and Child Convicts 1883 (Barlinnie Prison Register)



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